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ABSTRACT

A qualitative pilot study, guided by an ecological framework, illustrates the complexities involved in studying the unique linguistic situation in Paraguay between Spanish and the indigenous language of Guarani, and its relationship with education. The pilot study interviewing eight kindergarten children. Seventy five children have been interviewed since the pilot study was completed. Teacher questionnaires were completed by 25 teachers, 4 of which are discussed in detail. This report focuses on eight Paraguayan elementary school kindergarteners (n=4 each males and females) and their teachers from each school participating in the study. Interviews and questionnaire results are presented through vignettes which indicate that social factors play a role in language choice in this diglossic environment between Spanish and Guarani. Focusing on the individual child, the study also takes into account the parental views of education and the teachers' pedagogical practices surrounding language instruction in this bilingual context. Appended are interview questions, a bilingual picture task, and the teacher questionnaire. (Contains 7 notes and 19 references.) (Author/BT)

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Paraguayan Education Study: A Pilot Study

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Abstract

This qualitative pilot study, guided by an ecological framework, illustrates the complexities involved in studying the unique linguistic situation in Paraguay between Spanish and the indigenous language of Guaraní, and its relationship with education. The study involved conducting child interviews and distributing teacher questionnaires. This paper focuses on eight kindergarteners (four males and four females) and their teachers from each Paraguayan elementary schools participating in this study. Interview and questionnaire results are presented through vignettes indicating that many social factors play a role in language choice in this diglossic environment with Spanish and Guaraní. While focusing on the individual child, this study also takes into account the parental views of education and the teachers' pedagogical practices surrounding language instruction in this bilingual context.

Many social scientists and educators believe that it is important to include and analyze the several layers of a child's environment to better his/her development in the world. (Cole, 2000; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Garcia, 1999). This study draws upon Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory which envisions the child embedded in environmental structures all of which may affect the child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). It is best described as a nested environment of concentric structures, each contained within the next (Cole & Cole, 1996; Schaffer, 1996). The environmental structures range from the microsystem, which consists of the child, to the macrosystem, which includes such things as laws and customs of the culture.

This ecological perspective of understanding an individual in an educational context becomes even more complex when discussing a bilingual child. When creating a discourse in regards to a bilingual child, the ecological framework is more intricate because the home and school environments might not always be consistent to support the child for academic success (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Phelan & Davidson, 1993). For instance, as Eugene Garcia (1999) states in his argument of problems in schools concerning cultural diversity, schools do not always recognize the significant boundaries that exist between a minority student's family, community, and school and the necessity of providing students with transitions and bridges across these borders. Garcia (1999) goes on to explain that when cultural borders are not neutral, and when separate cultures are not perceived as equal then the movement and adaptation across borders is frequently difficult because the knowledge and skills in one culture are more highly valued and esteemed than those in the other.

This pilot study implements this notion of cultural inconsistency between the home and school environments, focusing on the language use in the two contexts. Paraguay is a bilingual nation, where 90% of its inhabitants claim Guaraní to be their first language. 50% of the population is bilingual, and only 6% of Paraguayans are monolingual Spanish speakers (Roett & Sacks, 1991). Paraguay may be classified as a diglossic linguistic community in which each language has a separate function in society (Rubin, 1968; *Melia*, 1993; Hudson, 1997; Ferguson, 1959; Edwards, 1995; Corvalan, 1985; Corvalan, 1977; Romaine, 1995). More specifically, Spanish is the "High Variety" language that is the prestigious language that is favored in formal settings such as a classroom or school. In contrast, Guaraní is the "Low Variety" language that is preferred in social settings such as the home (Rubin, 1968; Melía, 1993; Hudson, 1997; Ferguson, 1959; Edwards, 1995; Corvalan, 1985; Corvalan, 1977).[1] Rubin (1968) discusses the complexities of this linguistic situation by involving the social conditions that might lead to one language being preferred in certain domains in the Paraguayan diglossic society (cited by Edwards, 1995). For example, many Paraguayans seem to make language choices based on social factors such as socioeconomic status, familiarity with the person, and topic. In order to better comprehend this phenomenon, many aspects of Paraguayan children's daily interactions must be considered when studying language use in this diglossic community.

This qualitative study, grounded in an ecological framework, aims to begin the dialogue concerning the many challenges facing Paraguayan rural education in terms of

[1] The High and Low Variety languages are in strict complementary functional distribution. The High Variety language is uniformly held in higher esteem than the Low Variety language by members in the speech community. Proficiency in the High Variety is typically attained as a result of formal schooling, whereas proficiency in the Low Variety is attained through the natural process of mother tongue acquisition (Hudson, 1997).

language instruction. In this first phase of the study, children were interviewed, and teachers were surveyed concerning language use in various contexts. Due to the wide age range of the participants, this paper's results have taken a case study approach, keeping age constant, to show the complexity and diversity of the Paraguayan linguistic situation, where socioeconomic status and other social factors seem to play a major role in language preference. Two kindergarteners enrolled in each school that participate in the study were randomly selected to better understand how cultural practices, such as language preference in certain domains, are related to education in Paraguay.

Following an ecological model, additional information is needed to obtain a more accurate assessment of the activities in this bilingual setting. This study will continue data collection in June of 2002, when systematic home visits will be conducted on the sample to obtain family attitudes toward education.

Methods

Geographical Area/Background

Paraguay is a landlocked South American country, surrounded by Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia, with approximately 5.4 million inhabitants. The majority of Paraguayans are of mestizo descent as a result of the Spanish colonization in the 16th century (Corvalan and Granda, 1982). Agriculture is the prominent form of income for the Paraguayan economy. Paraguay is an extremely young country, with a large portion of the population of the country of school age. 40% of the population is less than 15 years old (Oceano Grupo Editorial, 1999). Beginning in the late 1980's the Paraguayan

education system began to experiment with bilingual education programs at the elementary school level (Roett & Sacks, 1991).

Participants[2]

Children and Basic Family Information

For the pilot study, eight kindergarten children (four females and four males) will be discussed. However, a total of 75 children (37 females and 38 males) ranging from the ages of 3 to 13, have been interviewed since this pilot study was completed. All 75 children attend one of four schools in a town with approximately 15,000 inhabitants located more or less 40 miles from the capital of Asunción.

In general, the mothers in the sample work in either service jobs such as teaching or are housewives. Fathers work in a variety of jobs in the town or its surrounding area, with the highest number being employed by farms or working in small factories to make brick and tile by hand.

Teachers

For this paper, four kindergarten teachers, one from each school, will be discussed in more detail. Since this pilot study was completed approximately 25 teachers completed questionnaires. These 25 teachers are quite familiar with the community. They have been working in the town for an average of 11 years and 90% were educated in this same community. .More than half of the teachers have lived in this town all of their lives.

[2] The names of all participants on this study have been changed to ensure confidentiality

Schools[3]

The four schools that participated in the study are located in different areas of the rural town. All four elementary school either serve children in the morning (from 7:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.) or the afternoon hours (1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.).

School 1: The elementary school is a public institution located in the center of the town. It serves 1, 110 students (K to 6th grade) during either the morning or afternoon session and employs 27 teachers. This school and its students are considered to be of a middle socioeconomic status.

School 2: The elementary school is a private institution located in the center of town. It serves 48 students (Pre-K to 3rd grade) only during the afternoon and employs seven teachers. It costs the equivalent of $50 a month to attend this school, when the average citizen of this town earns approximately this amount of money per month. This school and its students are considered to be of a high socioeconomic status.

School 3: The elementary school is a public institution located on the outskirts of town. Most students walk on dirt roads to get to school. It serves 110 students (K to 6th grade) in either the morning or afternoon sessions and employs a total of four teachers. This school and its students are considered to be of a low socioeconomic status.

[3] For the purpose of clarification, these schools will be referred to by numbers 1 through 4 for the remaining portions of the paper.

School 4: The elementary school is a public institution a few miles removed from the center of town, surrounded by dirt roads.[4] It serves 292 students (K-6th grade) during either the morning or afternoon sessions and employs a total of eight teachers. This school and its students are considered to be of a low socioeconomic status.

Materials

All materials are written in Spanish due to the fact that Guaraní is used almost exclusively as an oral language in the community, and the adults prefer official documents to be written in Spanish.

Teacher Questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of 22 questions. Teachers respond to items regarding demographic information, reasons for choosing the profession, and their pedagogical practices (See Appendix). For this paper, the information gathered from these questionnaires will be used to present a basic description of the teachers and their daily teaching practices.

Child Interview[5]

a) Interview Questions – 23 questions concerning demographic information, parental views of education, daily activities, and language use in different contexts (See Appendix). The last three self-report language questions address

[4] In Schools 3 and 4, class is often cancelled due to rain because the dirt roads get washed out in the rain.
[5] At the beginning of the interview, the child is given the option of having all interview items asked in Guaraní or Spanish.

the linguistic notion of diglossia, where language preference varies according to context and function in society.

b) Bilingual Picture Task – Ten pictures (five items found in a home and five items found in a school) are counterbalanced (See Appendix). These pictures were carefully selected from *The Usborne First 1,000 Words in Spanish* (Amery & Cartwright, 1995). An explanation of the coding for this measure is provided in the Procedure section.

Procedure

Teacher Questionnaire

The teacher questionnaire was handed out to the teachers individually. They were asked to return the questionnaire once it was completed. The questionnaire took approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete.

All of the child interviews were conducted with a Guaraní interpreter present. Graciela Rotella de Loppacher is a Guaraní teacher. She was born and raised in the same community where this research is being conducted.

Child Interview[6]

1. Question Protocol

a) The child interview took approximately 20 to 25 minutes to complete. The first phase of the interview consisted of questions asked one at a time in either Spanish or Guaraní (See Appendix). After all of the interview questions were asked, the interview entered phase two, the Bilingual Picture Activity.

2. Bilingual Picture Task

b) The child was shown ten pictures individually and asked to name each item in either Spanish or Guaraní. Five pictures pertain to the school environment and five pictures relate to the home environment (See Appendix). After the child names the object in one language, he/she is then asked to name the item in the other language. Once the Bilingual Picture Task was completed the child interview came to a close.

Coding of the Bilingual Picture Task

This portion of the study focused on language proficiency as measured by the Bilingual Picture Task.[7] The child was given one point for every correct answer in each language. Therefore, the highest number possible in each language was ten.

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[6] These interviews were all audio taped.

[7] It needs to be stressed that this language proficiency measure is not making any conclusions regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education programs in Paraguay. It was used as a *rough* language proficiency measure for each individual child.

Vignettes

SCHOOL 1

Patricia

Patricia is a five-year-old girl enrolled in the morning kindergarten classroom in School 1. Her mother is a school teacher, and her father works in a brick factory. She has one younger sibling, a four year-old brother. During the child interview, which was conducted completely in Spanish, Patricia said that after school she first eats a banana and yogurt. Then she goes out and plays with her classmates. When asked what she likes or dislikes about school, she stated she likes to draw and color. She tells her parents that everything is going well in school. She studies a lot and likes to write. Her mother frequently helps her with homework. In terms of language preference in different domains, Patricia prefers to speak Spanish with her teacher and both Spanish and Guaraní with friends and family. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, Patricia named all ten objects correctly in Spanish and only three items correctly in Guaraní. Since School 1 does not have a final report card in kindergarten, an analysis of Patricia's work and a conversation with her teacher conclude that Patricia is one of the top students in her class.

Juan

Juan is a five-year-old boy enrolled in a kindergarten class in School 1. Both of his parents are school teachers. He has one younger sister. Dur[illegible] the child interview, which was conducted completely in Spanish, Juan said that after school he plays with friends. In terms of what Juan likes or dislikes about school, he says he enjoys learning and playing. When asked about language preference, Juan indicates Spanish as the

language of choice in all three contexts, with teacher, friends, and family. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, a high Spanish proficiency was shown with all ten items named correctly in Spanish. He answered only one correctly in Guaraní. Since School 1 does not have a final report card for kindergarten, an analysis of his school work and a conversation with his teacher conclude that Juan is a very bright boy and a top student in his class.

Patricia and Juan Teacher (Diana)

Diana is Patricia and Juan's kindergarten teacher. She is a 34 year-old woman who has lived in the community all her life. She was educated in the school where she now teaches. She has 13 years of teaching experience. Her class consists of 60 students in which half attend the morning session and half the afternoon. Diana speaks both Spanish and Guaraní in her classroom. She teaches all the school subjects in both languages as well.

When asked why she entered the teaching profession, she answered, "I wanted to be a teacher. I wanted to be involved in the education of children at this level. I enjoy working with children of the ages of zero to six years."

SCHOOL 2

Beatrice

Beatrice is a quiet five-year-old girl enrolled in the kindergarten class in School 2. Her mother is a housewife, and her father works at a factory in town. She is an only child. During her child interview, which was conducted completely in Spanish, Beatrice

explained that after school she watches television, in particular cartoons. When Beatrice was asked what she likes about school, she responded that she likes to play with her classmates. Her mother, Maria, helps her with her homework before supper. In terms of the language preference self-report questions, Beatrice prefers to speak Spanish in domains with her teacher, family, and friends. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, Beatrice named all ten objects correctly in Spanish and none were named correctly in Guaraní. With this outcome it is apparent that Beatrice has a strong Spanish preference. In terms of her classroom demeanor for the kindergarten year, her teacher describes her as a quiet child that is a hard worker.

Leo

Leo is an active five-year-old boy enrolled in a kindergarten class in School 2. His mother studies at a nearby university and his father works in a nearby community so he stays primarily with his grandmother and sees his parents during the weekend. He is an only child. In Leo's child interview, which was conducted completely in Spanish, he explained that after school he watches television and plays with friends. He says he likes school, but he does not seem to discuss it with his family on a regular basis. His grandmother helps him with his homework on occasion. In terms of language preference, Leo claims that he prefers Spanish in all three domains with teacher, friends, and family. A high Spanish proficiency was apparent in Leo's Bilingual Picture Activity, in which he named all ten objects correctly in Spanish and none in Guaraní. In terms of his classroom demeanor and academic performance in kindergarten, his teacher describes, Leo as a very active, nice boy that has demonstrated satisfactory work during the year.

Beatrice and Leo's Teacher (Francisca)

Francisca is Beatrice and Leo's kindergarten teacher. She is a 30 year-old woman who has been a member of the community all her life. She received both her elementary and secondary education in the capital of Asunción. She has seven years of teaching experience. Her class consists of 18 students, all of whom attend class in the afternoon. Francisca speaks mostly Spanish in her classroom with the occasional vocabulary lesson in Guaraní.

When asked why she entered the teaching profession, she answered, "I love children, and I like to teach!"

SCHOOL 3

Jennifer

Jennifer is a five-year-old girl enrolled in a kindergarten class in School 3. Her mother is a housewife, and her father works in Argentina. She has no siblings. During her child interview, which was conducted completely in Guaraní, Jennifer identified that looking at the flowers was the thing that she liked most about school. She said that her parents do not really talk to her about school. They only say that it is a pretty place. Her mother and grandmother help her with her homework almost on a daily basis. In terms of the language preference questions, Jennifer claims a Guaraní language preference in all three domains: teacher, friends, and family. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, Jennifer named nine objects correctly in Spanish and two in Guaraní. In terms of Jennifer's scholastic achievement and classroom demeanor in kindergarten, her school work and

teacher indicate that Jennifer is a hard worker. The majority of her work was rated as satisfactory.

Mateo

Mateo is a six-year-old boy enrolled in a kindergarten class in School 3. His mother is a housewife, and his father works on a farm. He has no siblings. During his child interview, which was conducted completely in Guaraní, Mateo stated that after school he takes care of chickens. In terms of how Mateo perceives school, he did not say what he liked or disliked, but he said that his parents think that the school is good and looks nice. His mother and father help him with his homework on rare occasions. In terms of the language preference questions in the child interview, Mateo claimed a Guaraní language preference in all three contexts: teacher, friends, and family. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, he illustrated only a slight Spanish advantage in proficiency by naming seven objects correctly in Spanish and five in Guaraní. After analyzing his school work and conversing with his teacher, Mateo's scholastic achievement was characterized as a below average student in comparison with his classmates.

Jennifer and Mateo's Teacher (Rosanna)

Rosanna is Jennifer and Mateo's kindergarten teacher. She is a 28 year-old woman who has lived in the community for 25 years. She was educated in a nearby town. She has been teaching for only one year. She teaches a total of 15 students. Rosanna teaches all school subjects in both Spanish and Guaraní, but mostly in Guaraní.

When asked why she became a teacher, Rosanna responded, "It is an excellent profession for women, and you get to help children."

SCHOOL 4

Maria José

Maria José is a five-year-old girl enrolled in a kindergarten class in School 4. Her mother is a housewife, and her father is a salesman. She has five siblings, ranging from the ages of six to eight years old. In her interview, which was conducted in Spanish, she stated that she likes school. In particular, she likes to sing, play, and color. She says her parents want her to come to school. After school, she does her homework, which her mom helps her with. In terms of language preference, Maria José claims a bilingual preference in domains with her teacher and friends. However, in terms of language preference at home, she prefers Spanish. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, Maria José named all ten objects correctly in Spanish and four objects correctly in Guaraní. When taking into account Maria José's scholastic achievement for the academic year, the grades from only the first half of the year were available because she moved schools. The majority of her work was rated as satisfactory during this time period. Her report card also indicated that she had trouble completing assignments on time, as well as cooperating with friends to do group work.

William

William is a five-year-old boy enrolled in a kindergarten class in School 4. His mother works for the town's telephone company, and his father is a mechanic. He has three older siblings. In his interview, which was conducted in Spanish, he said he that enjoys working, playing, and drawing in school. After school, William does his homework, and he accompanies his father to the garage. William said his teacher helps him with his homework. In terms of language preference, William stated a bilingual preference with his teacher and friends. In terms of language choice at home, William prefers Spanish. In the Bilingual Picture Activity, he named all ten objects correctly in Spanish and none in Guaraní. Taking into account William's scholastic achievement for his kindergarten year, he received unsatisfactory reports in the majority of areas. As the year progressed, his grades showed improvement, receiving satisfactory marks in almost every category.

Maria José and William's Teacher (Sara)

Sara is Maria José and William's kindergarten teacher. She is a 36 year-old woman, who has lived all her life in the community. She was also educated in this town. Sara has been teaching now for ten years. She teaches a total of 37 students during the morning session. Sara speaks both Spanish and Guaraní in her classroom. She teaches all school subjects in both languages as well.

When asked why she became a teacher, she responded, "Because it is a good way to commit oneself in life, the society, and to make the world a better place."

Discussion

Even though limited conclusions may be drawn from these kindergarten vignettes, a few trends or patterns emerge from these individual case studies. These trends will contextualize the complex linguistic bilingual situation and its relationship with education in Paraguay. The vignettes provide a scope of analysis for understanding the relationship between language use in different domains in Paraguayan society. First, it is important to further comprehend the range in language preference that exists in a diglossic society. Second, it is central to discuss the possibility of a relationship between language use and academic achievement. Third, we turn to social institutions, such as the family unit and schools, which influence a child's development to obtain an accurate assessment.

Across all four schools the eight kindergarteners vary in language preference as measured by three self-report questions in the child interview. As mentioned previously in the vignettes, the self report languages preference responses varied from a clear Spanish or Guaraní choice in all three domains for some students to a bilingual preference for others. One characteristic that could possibly be related to these differences in language preference is a social factor such as socioeconomic status. As previously eluded to in the definition of diglossia, the "High Variety" language in a diglossic community, in this case Spanish is the language of prestige or the elite of the society in which they do not always hold this language in a positive light. This negative attitude might be passed onto their children.

This notion of Spanish being preferred by those of a higher socioeconomic status is illustrated by the Spanish preference of the two kindergarteners enrolled in School 2, the one private institution participating in the study. Following this argument, those

participants enrolled in School 3 and School 4 should prefer Guaraní over Spanish. On one hand, this diglossic principle is indeed evident for the two participants enrolled in School 3, where the children reported a preference of Guaraní in all three domains: teacher, friends, and family. On the other hand, participants in School 4, report a bilingual or code-switching preference. These results provide a lens into the Paraguayan diglossic community that is indeed complex, consisting of a combination of social factors including, but not limited to socioeconomic status, familiarity and location. These factors might lead a bilingual individual to prefer one language in a particular domain.

Familiarity with an individual is a social factor that must be considered before reporting language preference. As referred to previously by Rubin (1968), in a study of Paraguayan bilingualism, factors such as familiarity with an individual or solidarity are related to language choice. Although, many community members have become acquainted with me in the past during my annual trips to Paraguay, some of the children might not feel comfortable enough to speak the indigenous language in my presence. After all, the Guaraní language is held to be a language that unifies the Paraguayan people (Corvalan & Granda, 1982; Roett & Sacks, 1991).

The physical location where this task was completed is a third possible influence of language choice in this sample (Rubin, 1968). For example, the fact that the child interviews were conducted in a formal school setting could influence them to name more objects correctly in Spanish. According to the diglossic sociolinguistic phenomenon, the language that the Paraguayan society prefers in formal settings such as school is Spanish, the "High Variety" language of the society. Future research with this sample should

consider conducting the Bilingual Picture Activity in a setting other than school to see if the results differ.

A range of language ability, as measured by the Bilingual Picture Activity, also emerges especially in the case of Guaraní. All eight children named at least seven objects correctly in Spanish, with more than half of the children receiving a perfect score. In contrast, the highest score in Guaraní was a five, with a few participants not naming one object correctly. These results bring many possible explanations to the surface. For instance, the fact that all eight participants named at least seven objects correctly might illustrate that schools continue to prefer speaking Spanish at an early age despite the nation's official policy of promoting a transitional bilingual model in the rural areas of the country. This perceived incongruency between the home language, which is in most cases Guaraní, and the school language of Spanish might have serious long term social and psychological ramifications for children. When the home language is devalued at school, the relationships in the family unit might be strained.

No grand scale generalizations can be made between the study's language proficiency measure and academic achievement. However, as in the case of Mateo, who named half of the objects correctly in Guaraní and is a below average student, there might be a relationship between a Guaraní proficiency and lower academic achievement. The possibility of this relationship may have serious implications for educational practice in Paraguay. Therefore, it is vital that the study continues to look into this phenomenon.

When discussing the results of the Bilingual Picture Activity, several methodological limitations must be kept in mind. First of all, it is rather difficult to be certain that all participants are familiar with the ten objects introduced in this task.

Second, what the participant is asked to do to complete this task might be completely novel to this population. As a researcher of bilingualism, it is important to stress that a score on a picture naming task does not illustrate the complexity of bilingualism. A picture naming task just begins to illustrate proficiency for tne sample. This task should be used just as a primary examination in this multilingual community, but by no means should it be the final analysis.

Along with the self report language preference questions and the Bilingual Picture Activity in the child interview, the questions regarding feelings about school and family perceptions of education helped paint a more accurate picture of how cultural practices or beliefs might influence a Paraguayan child's education. These questions begin to address how social institutions such as the family, influence a child's education. This is vital for a more accurate assessment of whether children's educational experiences, may differ as a function of social influences. For instance, it seems as though many of these children turn to their parents for help on their homework. It would be interesting to see if a parent's educational attainment is related to this practice. In addition, how does this parent and child interaction change over time, and does language preference influence this change?

Furthermore, when the children in the sample were asked to describe what they tell their parents about school or what their parents say about school, many different cultural beliefs emerged. For instance, parental engagement in a child's education might be related to a child's view of school. According to Mateo, his parents say that the school is a good one, and it is nice. Mateo states that he does not discuss school with his family. Conversely, Patricia's parents take an active role in her education by helping her to

complete her assignments. When Patricia was as asked what she tells her parents about school she responded that everything is going well in school, she loves to study, and likes to write. This difference in the way these children articulate school experiences might be related to parental involvement in education. The home visits that will be conducted in June of 2002 will investigate this notion of family involvement in education further. What do parents say to their children about education? In addition, what are the parents' attitudes toward Paraguayan bilingualism?

Along with the perceptions of education, the teacher questionnaire begins to investigate how the school institutions are organized, and how they implement language instruction in this bilingual context. In terms of language instruction, all public school teachers state that they speak a combination of Spanish and Guaraní in the classroom. This finding is contradictory to the results from the language portion of this study, where many children do not illustrate a high Guaraní proficiency in the school context. More observations are planned in future research to see if the classroom instruction is truly bilingual in nature.

Another finding from these questionnaires is the reason why these teachers entered the profession. Whether a person enters teaching because of a deep sense of service to children in the community or because a lack of other occupational opportunities may affect how they approach their duties as an educator. As the study continues, the teachers' attitudes toward language instruction and the teaching profession in general will be better understood.

Implications for the Field

This pilot study portrays the linguistic situation in Paraguay as a complex one, where language choice might not be as clearly defined by context as sociolinguists previously thought. First of all, this study illustrates that many social factors must be considered when studying Paraguayan bilingualism. In addition, the fact that Spanish is preferred in the school context raises questions concerning language planning efforts in the country. For example, if the indigenous language of Guaraní never holds a high status in the Paraguayan school system or the larger society, what does this mean for the future of the language in the country? Furthermore, the perceived status of a language in the school may have serious implications for classroom instruction. Even though Paraguay is officially a bilingual nation, Spanish is still being stressed in Paraguayan classrooms. If a bridge is never constructed between the home language of Guaraní and Spanish, will the Paraguayan child always be living in two separate worlds having to choose one language over the other to achieve academic success? This is question that all bilingual education classrooms around the world must address.

Future Research Objectives

As mentioned throughout the paper, this pilot study's results raise many questions for future research. Several lines of inquiry are listed below:

Language Preference/Choice

a) By analyzing naturally-occurring interaction, language preference will be better understood.

Family Influence

b) Through family interviews that investigate the linguistic practices and ideologies of the Paraguayan family we can better understand of this linguistic situation.

c) Family involvement in education will also be addressed in the interviews to better comprehend how families influence academic achievement and school adaptation.

School Environment

d) Is the instruction truly bilingual in nature?

e) Is bilingual instruction done in a systematic fashion, or do factors such as socioeconomic status and location affect which language is preferred for instruction?

By studying more classroom instruction and analyzing curriculum options, we will have a more detailed view of what is occurring in the Paraguayan educational system. Although, this study of Paraguayan education is far from complete, it does give us many starting points for discussion of the current sociolinguistic situation in the diglossic community by focusing on the microsystem level of the school child. As this project progresses to the next levels of analysis, the complex ecological existence of a bilingual child, in this case, the Paraguayan bilingual child from a rural town will be better understood.

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Appendix

Entravista Estudiantil (CHILD INTERVIEW)

Nombre_____

Fecha_____

Curso_____

Escuela _____

Maestro/a_____

A. ***Información General***

1. Edad _____
2. Sexo _____
3. ¿Dónde naciste?_____
4. ¿Has vivido en otro pueblo? Sí o No _____
5. ¿Cuando entraste en la escuela? _____
6. ¿Repetiste algun grado? Sí o No ¿Cúal? _____

B. ***Información sobre la Familia***

7. ¿Qué hacen tus padres para trabajo?
   a. la mamá_____
   b. el papá _____
8. ¿Cuántos hermanos tienes? _____
   ¿Qué son sus edades? _____
   ¿Se murió algun hermano? _____ Sí _____No #_____
9. ¿Trabajan tus hermanos _____ ganan dinero? Sí o No
   ¿Cuánto?_____

C. ***Tus Sueños y La Escuela***

10. ¿Qué haces cada día despues de la escuela?

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. ¿Y dices a tus padres sobre la escuela o que te dicen sobre la escuela?

_____

_____

_____

12. ¿Qué piensas de la escuela? ¿Te gusta ir a la escuela?

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. ¿Cuántas veces faltaste de la escuela este año?_____

    a. ¿Por qué faltaste?_____

14. ¿Qué comiste esta mañana por el desayuno?

_____

15. ¿A que hora estudias o haces tus deberes?

_____

16. ¿Dónde estudias o haces tus deberes?

_____

17. ¿Por cuanto tiempo haces deberes cada noche? _____

18. ¿Alguien revisa tus deberes en tu casa? Sí o No

¿Quien?_____

19. ¿Lees en tu casa? Sí o No

    a. ¿Qué lees?_____

    b. ¿Tienes libros en tu casa? Sí o No

    c. ¿Qué clase son los libros? _____

20. ¿Cómo reacciona tu familia cuando vienes a tu casa con tu libreta?

_____

_____

_____

D. ***Los Idiomas en tu Vida***

21. ¿Cuál idioma hablas mas con tu maestro/a?

    Español_____Guaraní_____Los dos/ambos_____

22. ¿Cuál idioma hablas mas con tus amigos?

    Español_____Guaraní_____Los dos/ambos_____

23. ¿Cuál idioma hablas mas con tu familia?

Español_____Guaraní_____Los dos/ambos_____

Notes/Observations

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Las Fotos (BILINGUAL PICTURE TASK)

Nombre_____

Curso_____

Escuela_____

1. (book)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
2. (tree)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
3. (pencil)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
4. (truck)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
5. (scissors)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
6. (dog)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
7. (ruler)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní
8. (bed)
   a._____ Spanish Guaraní
   b._____ Spanish Guaraní

9. (desk)

a._____ Spanish Guaraní

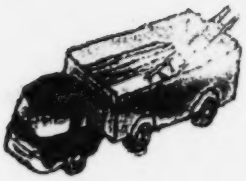
b._____ Spanish Guaraní

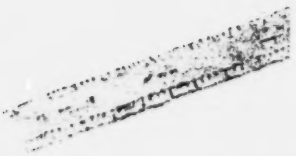
10. (snake)

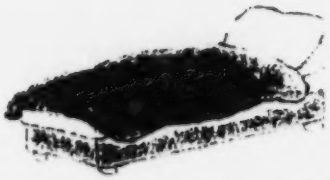
a._____ Spanish Guaraní

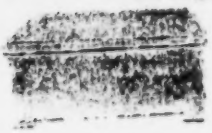
b._____ Spanish Guaraní

Bilingual Picture Task (shown one at a time)









PREGUNTAS PARA LA MAESTRA (Teacher Questionnaire)

PREGUNTAS PERSONALES

1. Nombre_____
2. Edad_____
3. Sexo_____
4. Salario_____
5. Años de educacíon_____
6. ¿Dónde fuiste a la escuela?_____
7. ¿Dónde fuiste al colegio? _____
8. ¿Por qué quieres ser un(a) professor(a)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. ¿Hace cuanto tiempo que ensenas? _____
10. ¿Hace cuanto tiempo que vives en el pueblo?_____

PREGUNTAS DE LA FAMILIA

11. ¿Conoces a las familias de tus estudiantes? Sí o No
12. ¿Has ido a las casa de tus estudiantes? Sí o No
13. ¿Hablas a menudo con los padres de tus estudiantes?:

    a) una vez por semana b) una vez por mes c) una vez por año

PREGUNTAS SOBRE LA ESCUELA/LA ENSEÑAZA

14. ¿Cuantos estudiantes tienes en tu clase? _____

15. ¿Qué horas del día enseñas? _____

16. ¿Cúal idioma hablas en tu clase: español o guaraní?

17. ¿Enseñas todas las materias en español? Sí o No

18. ¿Enseñas todas las materias en guaraní? Sí o No

19. ¿Cúal materias enseñas en cada idioma?

_____

_____

20. ¿Pueden hablar en guaraní todos tus estudiantes? Sí o No

21. ¿Pueden hablar y escribir en guaraní? Sí o No

22. ¿Cómo es un día en tu escuela?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____